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appendix

# A P P E N D I X
to Report
A-5

Political Attitudes of West Germans Exposed
to USIS, Informal & American Commercial Media

(November 20, 1956)

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RESEARCH STAFF
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
AMERICAN EMBASSY

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A-5

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## Part I - Basic Questions

The following questions bearing on political issues dividing the East and the West were utilized in the report.

1. In your opinion, who is chiefly to blame for Germany still being divided, the West or the East?

| | | West Germany (1843) |
|---|---|---|
| (-)* | West | 5% |
| (+) | East | 52 |
| (±) | Both equally to blame (volunteered) | 27 |
| (±) | No opinion | 16 |
| | | 100% |

2. The Russians have repeatedly stated that a reunification of Germany can be brought about only through negotiations between the West German government in Bonn and the East German government in Pankow. Do you believe that through such negotiations reunification could be achieved under conditions acceptable to us?

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (-) | Yes, could be achieved | 27% |
| (+) | No, couldn't be achieved | 46 |
| (±) | No opinion | 27 |
| | | 100% |

3. At the present time, do you personally think that West Germany should be on the side of the West, on the side of the East, or on neither side?

| | | West Germany | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Sept '54 (605) | June '55 (626) | May '56 (1843) |
| (+) | Side of the West | 58% | 52% | 54% |
| (-) | Side of the East | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| (±) | Neither side | 30 | 33 | 31 |
| (±) | Don't know | 11 | 14 | 14 |
| | | 100% | 100% | 100% |

*(+) In accordance with USIS objectives

(-) Contrary to USIS objectives

(±) Indeterminate

4. Some people say that Soviet foreign policy has shifted recently. Here are two views concerning the main reason why the Soviets changed their policy. Do you agree more with Mr. A or with Mr. B.? (CARD)

Mr. A.: I think the main reason the Soviets changed their policy is that the old policies failed because of Western strength.

Mr. B.: I don't think the Soviets were in any way compelled to change their policies. It's just that new leaders have new policies.

| | | West Germany (1843) |
|---|---|---|
| (+) | Mr. A. | 16% |
| (-) | Mr. B. | 55 |
| (±) | No change in policy (volunteered) | 8 |
| (±) | Don't know | 21 |
| | | 100% |

5. If it were up to you, would you continue to present policy of strength towards Russia, or would you prefer to adopt a different policy now?

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (+) | Adhere to present policy | 31% |
| (-) | Adopt different policy | 26 |
| (±) | No opinion | 43 |
| | | 100% |

6. Three persons are discussing what the reasons for the conciliatory attitude of the new Russian government may be. (CARD)

A - Herr Schmidt: It's nothing but deceitful trickery with which the Russians want to lull the vigilance of the West.

B - Herr Schulze: All the Russians want is to gain a breathing spell in the cold war, they haven't had a change of heart.

C - Herr Maier: The new government of Russia is making a sincere effort to bring about peaceful relations with the West.

Whom would you be most likely to agree with?

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (+) | Schmidt(trickery) | 33% |
| (+) | Schulze(breathing spell) | 22 |
| (-) | Maier(sincere effort) | 20 |
| (±) | No opinion | 25 |
| | | 100% |

7. Two people are talking about the destruction of the Stalin myth. Which of these two views comes closest to your own opinion? (CARD)

Herr Mueller: If the Russians now revile Stalin, they only want to threw dust in our eyes. Actually they pursue the same objectives as during Stalin's lifetime.

Herr Schulze: Since Stalin's death many things have changed in Russia. The regime has become more humane, and the new leaders are more willing to come to an understanding. The renouncing of Stalin is a clear indication of this.

| | | West Germany (1843) |
|---|---|---|
| (+) | Herr Mueller | 39% |
| (-) | Herr Schulze | 36 |
| (±) | No opinion | 25 |
| | | 100 % |

8. In your opinion, should the Asiatic countries be afraid that through accepting Russian economic aid their independence will be endangered or should they not fear this?

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (+) | Yes, should fear that independence will be endangered | 47% |
| (-) | No, should not fear that independence will be endangered | 18 |
| (±) | No opinion | 35 |
| | | 100 % |

9. How great, do you think, is the actual Russian interest in a general international disarmament, very great, great or slight?

| | | West Germany (1843) |
|---|---|---|
| (-) | Very great | 4% |
| (-) | Great | 13 |
| (+) | Slight | 42 |
| (+) | No interest whatever (volunteered) | 16 |
| (±) | No opinion | 25 |
| | | 100% |

10. How great, do you think, is the actual American interest in a general international disarmament, very great, great or slight?

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (+) | Very great | 4% |
| (+) | Great | 14 |
| (-) | Slight | 42 |
| (-) | No interest whatever (volunteered) | 13 |
| (±) | No opinion | 27 |
| | | 100% |

11. Please tell me how you feel about each of the following opinions: do you believe that these assertions are correct or not? (CARD)

| | Correct (-) | Not correct (+) | No opinion (±) |
|---|---|---|---|
| A - The Russians will agree to the reunification of Germany provided all-Germany does not join a Western military alliance | 35% | 35% | 30%...100% |
| B - The destruction of the Stalin myth shows that the Soviets are ridding their political system of the inhumanities which had become the rule under Stalin | 27 | 36 | 37 |
| C - The Russians grant economic aid to the Asiatic countries because they really want to help them | 11 | 54 | 35 |
| D - Russian disarmament proposals aim at achieving a relaxation of tensions in the world and guaranteeing peace | 15 | 49 | 36 |
| E - The sole aim of the cultural exchange recently initiated by the Russians is to impart to other nations a better understanding of Russian culture | 40 | 26 | 34 |
| F - Through the dissolution of Cominform, the Communist information agency, the Russians have demonstrated that they no longer seek to bring about a Communist revolution in other countries | 8 | 51 | 41 |

## II. - The Susceptibility Scale

The following questions were used to set up the two scales:

SCALE I

Question 1 "In your opinion, who is chiefly to blame for Germany still being divided, the West or the East?"

(-) West
(+) East
(±) Both equally to blame (volunteered)
(±) No opinion

Question 6 "Three persons are discussing what the reasons for the conciliatory attitude of the new Russian government may be." (CARD)

A - Herr Schmidt: (+) It's nothing but deceitful trickery with which the Russians want to lull the vigilance of the West

B - Herr Schulze: (+) All the Russians want is to gain a breathing spell in the cold war, they haven't had a change of heart

C - Herr Maier: (-) The new government of Russia is making a sincere effort to bring about peaceful relations with the West

(±) No opinion

Question 7 "Two people are talking about the destruction of the Stalin myth. Which of these two views comes closest to your own opinion?" (CARD)

Herr Mueller: (+) If the Russians now revile Stalin, they only want to throw dust in our eyes. Actually they pursue the same objectives as during Stalin's lifetime

Herr Schulze: (-) Since Stalin's death many things have changed in Russia. The regime has become more humane, and the new leaders are more willing to come to an understanding. The renouncing of Stalin is a clear indication of this.

(±) No opinion

Question 8 "In your opinion, should the Asiatic countries be afraid that through accepting Russian economic aid their independence will be endangered or should they not fear this?"

(+) Yes, should fear that independence will be endangered
(-) No, should not fear that independence will be endangered
(±) No opinion

Question 9 "How great, do you think, is the actual Russian interest in a general international disarmament: Very great, great or slight?"

(-) Very great

(¬) Great

(+) Slight

(+) No interest whatever (volunteered)

(±) No opinion

SCALE II

Question 11 "Please tell me how you feel about each of the following opinions: Do you believe that these assertions are correct, or not?" (CARD)

| | Correct (-) | Not correct (¬) | No opinion (±) |
|---|---|---|---|
| B - With their visits to foreign countries Bulganin and Khrushchev meant to demonstrate their good will to live in peace with the world. | | | |
| C - The destruction of the Stalin myth shows that the Soviets are to ridding their political system of the inhumanities which had become the rule under Stalin. | | | |
| D - The Russians grant economic aid to the Asiatic countries because they really want to help them. | | | |
| E - Russian disarmament proposals aim at achieving a relaxation of tensions in the world and guaranteeing peace. | | | |
| G - Through the dissolution of Cominform, the Communist information agency, the Russians have demonstrated that they no longer seek to bring about a Communist revolution in other countries. | | | |

BIG CITY DWELLERS AND SPD ADHERENTS MOST SUSCEPTIBLE ...

From the population breakdowns it can be seen that SPD adherents are clearly set off from other partisans and from CDU followers in particular, with regard to susceptibility. SPD followers seem to be the most likely to accept Eastern propaganda moves. The same is true for big city inhabitants; the bigger the city the greater is the percentage of those with high susceptibility. Among the occupational groups, farmers and farmhands turn out to be the least affected by Eastern propaganda moves, while students have a similar net score in pro-Western orientation. On the other hand, skilled laborers appear to be the most susceptible of all groups, considerably more so than semi-skilled laborers.

Susceptibility Score

| | Net Score | Low | Medium | High | Un-determined | No. of cases |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Total Population | 37 | 48% | 31% | 11% | 10%...100% | 1843 |
| Sex: | | | | | | |
| Men | 35 | 50 | 30 | 15 | 5 | 799 |
| Women | 36 | 45 | 32 | 9 | 14 | 1044 |
| Education: | | | | | | |
| Elementary school | 34 | 46 | 31 | 12 | 11 | 1544 |
| Beyond elementary | 41 | 53 | 32 | 12 | 3 | 299 |
| Income: | | | | | | |
| Up to 149 DM | 27 | 40 | 30 | 13 | 17 | 149 |
| 150 to 299 DM | 39 | 47 | 32 | 8 | 13 | 358 |
| 300 to 399 DM | 35 | 48 | 30 | 13 | 9 | 445 |
| 400 to 499 DM | 41 | 51 | 33 | 10 | 6 | 343 |
| 500 DM and more | 31 | 47 | 33 | 16 | 4 | 422 |
| No answer | 38 | 46 | 25 | 8 | 21 | 126 |
| Opinion Leadership Scale:@ | | | | | | |
| Very active | 37 | 53 | 30 | 16 | 1 | 141 |
| Somewhat active | 34 | 49 | 32 | 15 | 4 | 474 |
| Remainder | 36 | 46 | 31 | 10 | 13 | 1228 |
| Socio-Economic Status: | | | | | | |
| Upper classes | 37 | 50 | 33 | 13 | 4 | 180 |
| Middle classes | 38 | 49 | 31 | 11 | 9 | 1017 |
| Lower classes | 30 | 43 | 31 | 13 | 13 | 646 |
| Age: | | | | | | |
| 18 to 24 years | 37 | 49 | 32 | 12 | 7 | 242 |
| 25 to 34 years | 33 | 46 | 35 | 13 | 6 | 374 |
| 35 to 44 years | 38 | 52 | 25 | 14 | 9 | 327 |
| 45 to 54 years | 35 | 46 | 32 | 11 | 11 | 405 |
| 55 years and over | 34 | 44 | 32 | 10 | 14 | 495 |
| Party Preference: | | | | | | |
| SPD | 24 | 44 | 33 | 20 | 3 | 443 |
| CDU/CSU | 52 | 58 | 28 | 6 | 8 | 517 |
| FDP | 39 | 51 | 34 | 12 | 3 | 97 |
| Other parties | 31 | 48 | 30 | 17 | 5 | 109 |
| No party | 33 | 44 | 31 | 11 | 14 | 327 |
| No answer | 27 | 36 | 35 | 9 | 20 | 350 |

@ Determined by political and organizational participation.

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

| | Net Score | Low | Medium | High | Un-determined | No. of cases |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Occupation: | | | | | | |
| Professionals | 32% | 52% | 28% | 20% | -%...100% | 46 |
| Businessmen | 41 | 52 | 32 | 11 | 5 | 145 |
| White-collar workers | 33 | 47 | 34 | 14 | 5 | 183 |
| Skilled laborers | 25 | 44 | 31 | 19 | 6 | 210 |
| Semi-skilled laborers | 38 | 49 | 30 | 11 | 10 | 229 |
| Domestic service | 42 | 50 | 30 | 8 | 12 | 50 |
| Farmers; farmhands | 52 | 59 | 26 | 7 | 8 | 137 |
| Housewives | 35 | 44 | 33 | 9 | 14 | 600 |
| Pensioners; retired | 31 | 44 | 30 | 13 | 13 | 217 |
| Students; apprentices | 53 | 61 | 23 | 8 | 8 | 26 |
| Religion: | | | | | | |
| Catholics | 40 | 49 | 31 | 9 | 11 | 864 |
| Protestants | 34 | 47 | 31 | 13 | 9 | 924 |
| Others | 22 | 43 | 36 | 21 | - | 14 |
| No religion | - 3 | 24 | 42 | 27 | 7 | 41 |
| Origin: | | | | | | |
| Natives | 34 | 46 | 31 | 12 | 11 | 1424 |
| Expellees; refugees | 38 | 50 | 30 | 12 | 8 | 419 |
| City Size: | | | | | | |
| Up to 1,999 | 44 | 51 | 28 | 7 | 14 | 565 |
| 2,000 to 24,999 | 35 | 46 | 31 | 11 | 12 | 593 |
| 25,000 to 99,999 | 37 | 50 | 32 | 13 | 5 | 277 |
| 100,000 and over | 23 | 41 | 37 | 18 | 4 | 408 |
| Land: | | | | | | |
| Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg, Bremen | 30 | 47 | 34 | 17 | 2 | 190 |
| Lower Saxony | 26 | 38 | 36 | 12 | 14 | 237 |
| North Rhine/Westphalia | 33 | 45 | 34 | 12 | 9 | 503 |
| Hesse | 33 | 46 | 29 | 13 | 12 | 181 |
| Rhineland/Palatinate | 45 | 51 | 35 | 6 | 8 | 131 |
| Baden/Wuerttemberg | 50 | 58 | 22 | 8 | 12 | 268 |
| Bavaria | 32 | 46 | 30 | 14 | 10 | 333 |

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